

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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## Policy Toward Spain Undergoing Changes

**U. S. and Britain Apply Diplomatic and Economic Pressure on Spaniards**

### FUTURE COURSE IS WATCHED

**Continued Assistance to Nazis Will Lead to Stronger Action on Part of United Nations**

During the last month, the United States and British governments have made a drastic change in their policy toward Spain. For the first time since the outbreak of the war in Europe, they have taken a firm stand against the government of Francisco Franco. As pointed out in last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, our State Department has issued a strong rebuke to the Spanish government for its many violations of neutrality and has demanded that it adopt a policy of true neutrality. Similar action has been taken by the British government. These British-American protests have been followed by the cutting off of oil shipments from the Caribbean area to Spain, with the threat of further action if Spain does not alter her course.

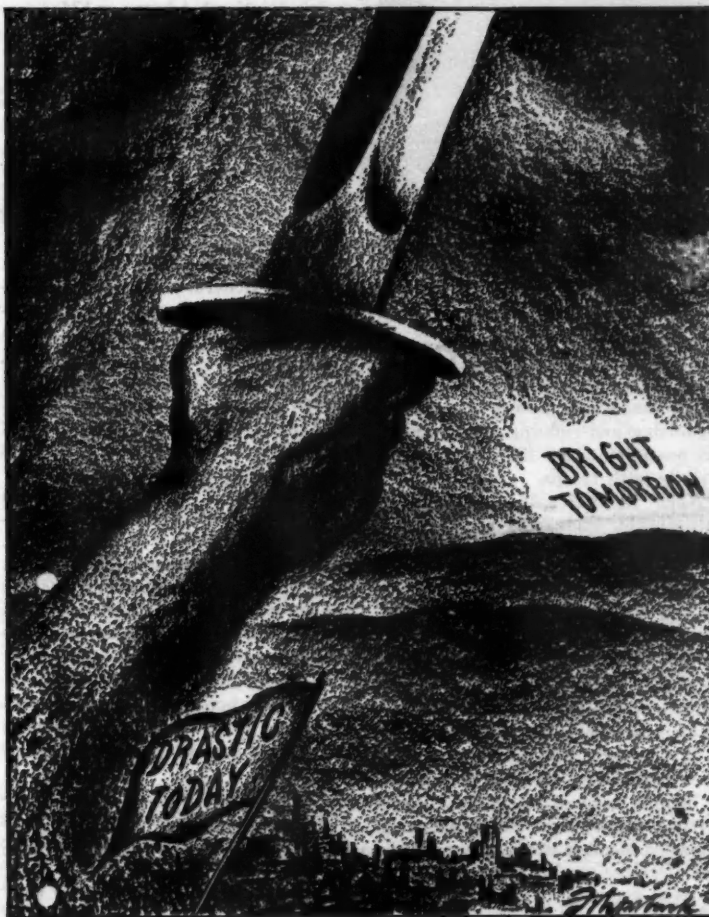
This policy has already brought forth a number of concrete steps on the part of the Madrid government. In the first place, the government has assured us that henceforth it will follow a policy of "absolute neutrality" in the war. If carried out, this will mean that the help Spain has been giving to Germany will come to an end. There is reason to believe that these assurances will be followed by concrete acts. Already, the Spanish government has released six Italian merchant vessels which had been tied up in Spanish ports since the Italian surrender. It is expected that other merchant ships, now in ports in the Spanish Balearic Islands, will also be turned over to the Allies, and that Spain will release the Italian warships which she holds.

### Bill of Complaints

The United States and Britain have a long bill of complaints against the government of Spain. At the outset of the Second World War, Spain pursued an unneutral course, a course which was described as nonbelligerency, which means that, although she did not take up arms against the United Nations, she lent considerable assistance to the Axis nations. Franco openly expressed the hope that Germany would win. More recently, as the Allies have gained power, he has proceeded more cautiously, proclaiming for Spain the status of a neutral, but aid to Germany has continued.

One of Franco's acts which the British and Americans have protested against has been his direct participation in the struggles on the Russian front. Soon after the invasion of Russia, the Spanish Blue Division, composed of Spanish "volunteers," was sent to fight alongside the Germans. While the government of Spain agreed later to dissolve this Division, the

(Concluded on page 6)



The challenge of tomorrow—to win the peace

## Spending Your Time

By Walter E. Myer

"How do you spend your time?" That is a question with which we are familiar. We all speak about *spending* time. But did you ever stop to think of what that means? You are given a certain amount of time—24 hours a day. No one has any more; no one has less. You must use up all this time each day. You must *spend* it—buy things with it. You can't keep any of it over until the next day. But what can you buy with this capital which you receive each day? What can you buy when you spend your allotment of time? You can buy many things. You may buy information, skill, friendship, recreation. You can use it to broaden your interests, to develop your personality, to prepare for success in a vocation. Or you may squander your time just as you may squander a supply of money which is given to you. You may spend time wisely or foolishly just as you may spend money wisely or foolishly. But spend it you must.

It should be clear, therefore, that the most important thing for a young person to do is to learn to spend his time wisely. It is surprising that so little thought is given to that necessity. Many people go along day after day and week after week, thinking very little about their use of time. They spend it, to be sure. They can't avoid doing that. But they spend it as an ignorant ne'er-do-well or a reckless waster might spend money. They spend it for things which do not even give them passing pleasure. In many cases they don't even know how they have spent their time. They only know, if they think of it at all, that, at the end of a day or week or year, they have made no wise purchases with their time; that, after all their spending of it, they are no nearer to efficiency in a vocation than they were, that they are no better informed, that their cultural interests are no more varied, that they are no more attractive in personality.

If you want to learn how to use time wisely, the first step is to check up on yourself. What do you spend your time for each day? You spend about a third of it sleeping, perhaps. You can't well avoid that. You may spend about a twelfth of it eating. You spend several hours in class. You spend some time studying your lessons. With some of your time you buy the pleasures which come from conversation, or from the movies or sports or hobbies. You spend some time, more than you would think, going from place to place. If you are wise you spend some of your time for the development and pleasure which come from reading newspapers, magazines, or books. But do these things take up all your time? How much do you spend merely for the privilege of loafing? How much do you actually waste for things which leave you bored rather than stimulated? I suggest that you keep books on yourself for a few days. See what you do with each of your 24 hours.

(Concluded on page 7)

## Challenge Is Raised By Postwar Program

**Winning of Peace Will Call for National Effort of Tremendous Proportions**

### CRITICAL DAYS SEEN AHEAD

**Not Only Will Clashes Occur Among Allies, but Internal Conflicts Will Arise**

The United States has mobilized the vast resources of the nation. It has built a powerful war machine and is ready to deliver terrific blows against its enemies. We were not prepared for war when we entered the conflict, and our country would have been destroyed if we had not had allies capable of engaging the enemy while we built ships, planes, guns, and manufactured munitions and military materials. But now we are prepared to wage battle on a colossal scale. We will do it, and, barring an unforeseen development, such as a falling apart of the United Nations, we will win the war. There will be anxious days, dark days. There will be times which, as Tom Paine said at an earlier crisis in our history, "will try men's souls." But victory is ahead.

### Next Great Task

Thus will we save ourselves from immediate peril. The next great task is to save ourselves from recurring perils in the future. It will be the job of the victorious United Nations to find out what the most persistent causes of war are, and to remove the conditions which lead to war. It will be their job to find out why peoples and nations become dissatisfied, restless, aggressive, warlike, and, to a certain degree at least, to provide measures which will remove grievances, provide for stability, and afford opportunities for ordered progress.

It will be the duty of these victorious nations to establish machinery for the peaceful settlement of quarrels. In short, having won the war, they will be confronted by the task of winning the peace.

After the First World War, the victorious Allies were confronted by the same task. They were presented with the same opportunity, and they failed. The result was that after 20 years of uneasy peace there came another war far more horrible and destructive than the other. This time the war is being carried to civilians in the heart of the warring countries. Cities are being laid waste; men, women and children by the million are being slaughtered, tortured, driven from their homes, to wander helplessly amidst devastation.

Our own country has thus far been spared such extremes of agony, but it is foolish to assume that we will escape the ravages of the next war—if it comes. Startling inventions of instruments of destruction are following each other in quick succession. Planes which were considered models of perfection when the war started are already out of date.





General Dwight D. Eisenhower

## Eisenhower and Rommel

WHEN the coming invasion pits the best Allied armies against the best of Germany's defenses, it will also match the skills of two great military leaders—General Dwight Eisenhower, Commander of Allied Invasion Forces, and Marshal Erwin Rommel, Inspector-General for the Defense of Europe. Although fighting for two irreconcilable causes, these men are well matched. Each has shown himself to be a superb organizer, a brilliant strategist, and an outstanding leader of men.

Eisenhower and Rommel share other important characteristics as well. Born within a year of each other, both men were the sons of middle-class families. For both, the rise to fame came as a result of demonstrated ability rather than because of wealth, family background, or influence.

General Eisenhower grew up in Kansas. As a boy, he worked summers to help send his brothers to school. By the time he was able to think of his own future, he was too old to enter his first choice of colleges—the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. He went to West Point instead.

While he was there, he made a good scholastic record, something of a reputation as an athlete, and a host of friends. When he was graduated in 1915, he became a lieutenant of infantry in Texas. He stayed with the infantry through the First World War, serving in various parts of the United States. By the time it was over, his permanent rank was that of captain, his temporary rank that of lieutenant colonel.

In 1915, Erwin Rommel was also a lieutenant of infantry. He had finished his military training at Stuttgart in time for the beginning of the First World War. Commanding a detachment of mountain troops, he distinguished himself by capturing an important French position and forcing an entire enemy brigade to retire. For this he was awarded the top German military decoration, the Pour le Merite order.

Later, Rommel was captured while fighting in northern Italy. Through his thorough knowledge of Italian and a clever disguise, he effected a daring escape. For the rest of the war, he fought in France and the Balkans, adding to his reputation as a brave and resourceful soldier.

When the war was over, Eisenhower was assigned to Fort Meade, Maryland, where he served as executive officer. Although he had shown himself a capable field officer, his administrative

talents made him more in demand for organizing and running the affairs of our peacetime army than for working directly with troops.

When Rommel returned from the battlefronts, there was no place for him in the reduced army of the German Republic. Discontented with the chaotic state of things in his defeated country, he was soon attracted to Hitler's Nazi movement. He became one of the first organizers of the Storm Troopers. A little later, he figured prominently in the attack on the Communists and Socialists in Coburg.

This brought him to the Fuehrer's attention, and he was soon singled out to become head of the S.S.—Hitler's personal police force. He became such a trusted member of the party that he was often assigned to serve as Hitler's personal bodyguard.

Hitler promised Rommel that when the Nazis came to power, Rommel should become one of the leaders of his new, conquering army. When Hitler took over, all Rommel got was an instructorship at the Potsdam War College. But with the invasion of Austria, he was appointed commandant of field headquarters.

Eisenhower's career in these years between wars was less dramatic than Rommel's. He served in various military posts all over the United States and in the Panama Canal Zone. He spent a period in the office of the Chief of Staff in Washington. Then, in the late 1930's, he went to the Philippines to plan the islands' defense.

Along with his activities as a Hitlerite, Rommel studied new tactics and strategies in the 1930's. Especially, he concentrated on tanks and mechanized attack. In 1940, when Hitler invaded Belgium and France, Rommel commanded the smoothly functioning armored divisions which brought the Nazis to Paris.

In 1941, things were going badly for the Italians in North Africa. Rommel was dispatched to pull them out of their difficulties—a feat which he accomplished brilliantly. After his armies captured Tobruk, Hitler made him a field marshal.

In 1941, Eisenhower was made a brigadier general. Shortly after this promotion, he commanded the Blue Army in the gigantic Louisiana maneuvers. His victorious campaign was so brilliantly executed that fellow officers prophesied that he would be a major general in six months. Just half a year later, he did achieve this rank. Shortly after, he left for London and a new assignment.

In the fall of 1942, Eisenhower com-

manded the American forces in the successful North African landings. Working 16 hours a day, he planned strategy, coordinated British and American efforts, and kept personal check on the events at the front. When he was made supreme commander of all Allied forces in the North African and Mediterranean theaters, applause came from all sides. Eisenhower's task in the North African and Mediterranean campaigns was one of staggering difficulty. But Allied successes tell the story of how well he tackled it. Never in history have the armies of two different nations worked and fought better together. When plans for the invasion of Europe began to shape up, it became clear that General Eisenhower was the man to lead the British and American forces again.

After he was driven out of North Africa by General Montgomery's British Eighth Army, Rommel left his command. For some time, his whereabouts was unknown. Then he was reported in command of Germany's Balkan and Italian armies. Although he has met with as many defeats as successes, Field Marshal Rommel still enjoys great prestige as an outstanding military leader. Even when they were beating him, Allied generals never belittled either his courage or his skill. For the Germans, he is the last, best hope. Now he has been assigned to the overall coordination and direction of Germany's effort to push back the Allied invasion.

In personality, Rommel and Eisenhower have both similarities and differences. Both men are plain-spoken and direct; both are confident of their abilities.

But while the friendly "Ike" Eisenhower has established a reputation as an unassuming and informal person to deal with, Rommel is known to be harsh and overbearing with his associates. Although both Eisenhower and Rommel are highly respected by their men, Rommel is the more ruthless disciplinarian.

The two leaders have about equally low opinions of the political systems they are opposing. Convinced that Germany breeds a ruthless desire for domination in her people, General Eisenhower stands for a fight to the finish. Rommel has been even more outspoken about his contempt for the democracies.



Marshal Erwin Rommel

## Week in Congress

DURING THE WEEK ending February 12, Congress took the following action on important national problems:

### Monday, February 7

Senate sidetracked the Lucas-Green bill, providing for a federal ballot for soldiers (see last week's AMERICAN OBSERVER). Approved the conference report on the tax bill, providing for more than two billion dollars in additional taxes. The House also approved the tax bill and the measure was sent to the White House for the President's signature. The measure fell eight billion dollars short of Mr. Roosevelt's request.

The Senate appointed a committee to draft an outline of domestic and foreign postwar aviation policy. House Committee on Postwar Planning appointed a subcommittee to pick a staff of experts.

### Tuesday, February 8

Senate again acted on soldiers' vote bill by amending the Eastland-Rankin states' rights bill and adopted the Lucas-Green bill. The whole issue was thus thrown into a conference committee, composed of members from both houses, which was expected to produce a compromise measure to settle the issue of federal versus state control of soldiers' votes. The House debated routine appropriation bills.

### Wednesday, February 9

Senate defeated the Maloney amendment to the price control bill, providing for the continuation of subsidy payments up to one billion dollars annually. Considered a heavy blow to the whole subsidy program to keep food prices in check. House appointed conferees to work on soldiers' vote bill.

Senate Military Affairs Committee heard former ambassador to Japan, Joseph Grew, ask for national service act. Committee on Education and Labor held final hearing on plight of white collar workers.

### Thursday, February 10

Senate defeated the Taft compromise amendment limiting subsidies to \$950,000, but agreed to extend present subsidies until June 30 of this year. House passed appropriations bills for Treasury and Post Office Departments.

Senate Military Affairs Committee heard Rear Admiral Land, chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, appeal for national service legislation. House Ways and Means Committee took up the question of tax simplification.

### Friday, February 11

Senate passed the Bankhead Anti-subsidy bill, which would extend the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation until June 30, 1945 and would ban most food subsidy programs after June 30, 1944. The LaFollette-Aiken amendment favoring the food stamp plan was defeated as was the Pepper proposal authorizing pay increases of 3% above the Little Steel formula (see page 4).

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(To be used in connection with article on page 7.)

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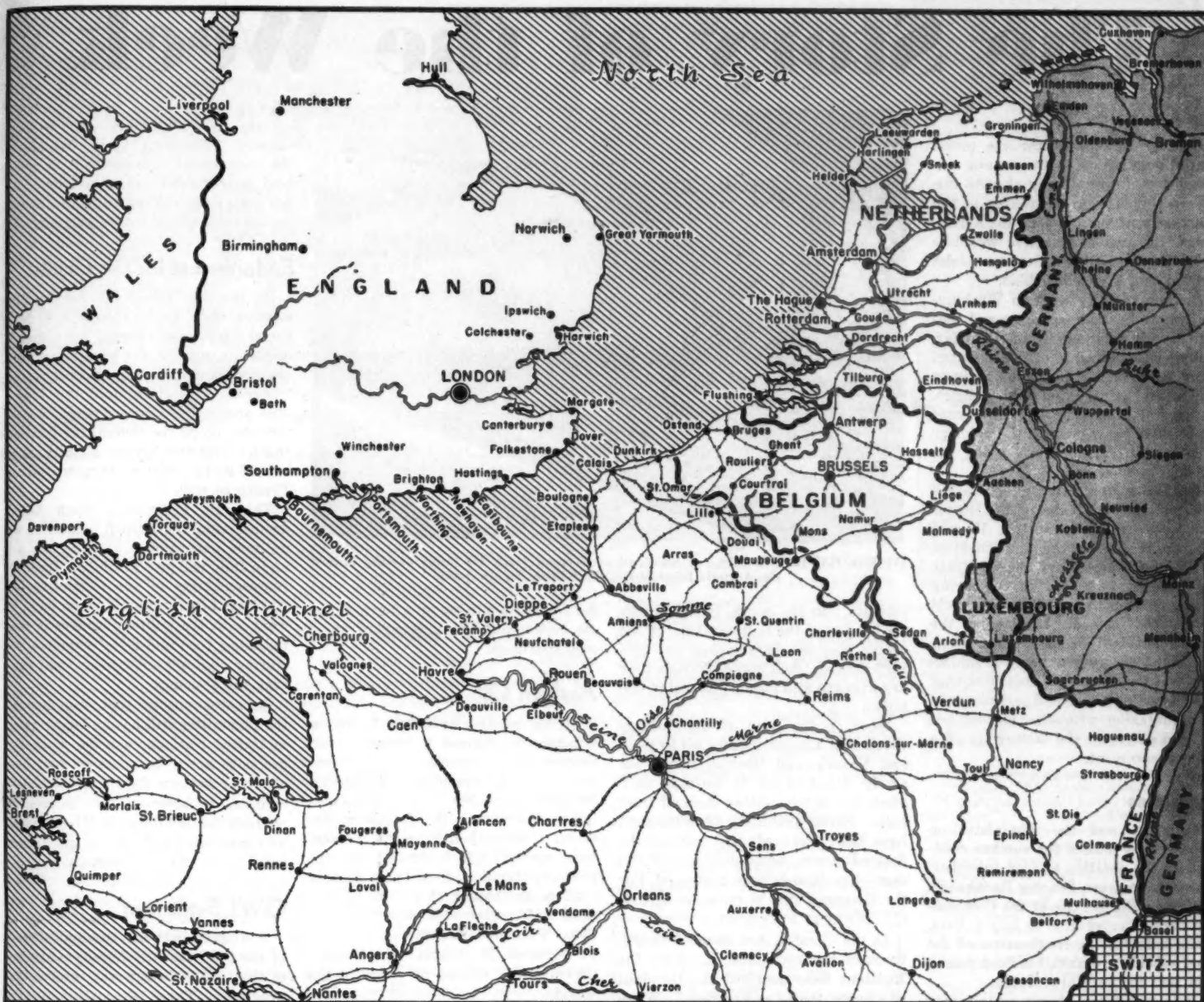
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The Invasion Front

## Day of Invasion Draws Nearer

AS the days and weeks go by the Allied invasion of Western Europe draws closer and closer. No one—except responsible officials—knows when and where it will take place, yet the time and place have been set.

Allied broadcasts to Belgium and France are continually warning the people to prepare for "the day." "When the invasion comes," these people are told, "stay in your homes! Do not clog the highways and hinder the soldiers who are coming to free you!"

Such broadcasts, plus the constant pounding of the invasion coast from the air, may mean that the great assault is near at hand. (We suggest that readers keep the map on this page so that they will be able to refer to it when the invasion does occur.)

The great advantage of an invasion at a very early date is that it could be timed with the tremendous offensive now being carried out by the Soviet armies. If it is delayed until April, the Russian front will be relatively inactive on account of the spring thaws which always bog down fighting forces. On the other hand, if we attack before spring comes, the weather will be less favorable for us, making landings difficult and dangerous because of possible gales and fogs. American and British military authorities have weighed the advantages and disadvantages in making their decision when to strike.

That the invasion of Western Europe across the English Channel will be the mightiest single military operation in all history, no one doubts.

Since there will be hundreds of thousands of men involved, together with thousands of ships and planes, it will hardly be possible to take the enemy completely by surprise. The Germans have established an excellent warning system along the coast of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

It may well be that the invasion will come at more than one spot. There may be simultaneous blows in Norway and Belgium, at several points in France, and even across the Adriatic to support the rebel armies in Yugoslavia. Moreover, it is a well known fact that the Fighting French now have in Corsica six fully equipped divisions of 20,000 men each, waiting to strike at the Nazis in southern France.

We already know fairly well what our troops will face when they invade Western Europe. All up and down the danger zone stretching for 200 miles along the English Channel, the Germans have worked feverishly for several years to build their defenses. The first line of defense is thought to stretch from 10 to 30 miles inland, and is fortified in every conceivable manner. The Channel waters are heavily mined, as are also all the beaches, and heavy barriers of barbed wire have been installed all along the invasion coast.

Behind these obstacles are literally thousands of pillboxes and guns waiting to rake the invasion beaches. At close range are machine guns and mortars; these are supported farther back by massed artillery. River banks are mined

and a vast network of tunnels and underground fortifications has been dug.

Behind this first line of defense is a series of big bases, from 50 to 100 miles inland. At these bases are stationed the troops—an estimated 45 divisions in all, with perhaps two-thirds of a million men—who can quickly be shifted to any point where the invaders appear to offer a serious threat.

To break through this massive defense line will require the mightiest single military and naval operation in all history. It will require the greatest air fleets ever massed. Our planes will serve to protect our men and ships in landing operations, and to strike terrific blows at the German troops and their supplies when they are being moved from one front to another. Aerial assaults will also be planned to knock out stores of munitions, fuel and equipment, airdromes, and other enemy installations. The fact that we will have definite air superiority over the Germans is the greatest single factor in our favor.

Glider troops and paratroopers will seize key objectives, especially airfields. This will go far toward upsetting Hitler's carefully planned system of "hedgehog defense." After the first slow fighting up cliffs, hills, and valleys, reinforcements will pour in to secure and expand our beachheads and get into position to meet powerful counterattacks.

While Americans and Britishers are confident of ultimate success in their invasion, they are prepared for heavy losses.



# The Story of the Week

## The Campaign Starts

Leading contenders for the presidential nomination in the coming national contest are already at work lining up support for themselves in the party conventions. Among the Republicans, the two most active would-be candidates are Ohio's Governor John Bricker and Wendell Willkie.

Bricker recently went to Washington, where he made speeches and consulted with party chieftains. So far, Willkie has covered 40 of the 48 states, sounding out labor, farm, and business leaders on their opinion of his policies. In several states, he has announced that he will enter preferential primary elections as a candidate for the Republican nomination.

In Washington, Mr. Bricker took a positive stand on many of the important issues facing the nation. He said that the conduct of the war should be left to the generals and the admirals. He opposed increased taxes, saying that government expenditures should be reduced instead. He favored the state-supervised ballot for soldiers. His stand on postwar peace organization was cautious. He indicated that the United States should participate in an organization with other nations, but he spoke against the setting up of a supergovernment.

## Subsidies

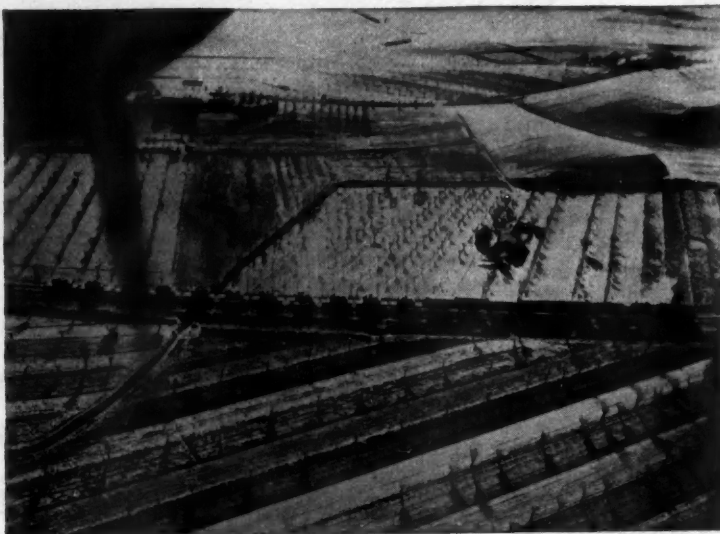
Congress and the administration appear to be headed for another deadlock on the question of food subsidies. As we go to press, Senator Bankhead's bill extending the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation to July 1, 1945, while banning the continuance of the food subsidy program, has been passed and sent to the White House.

It is considered almost certain that the President will veto this bill as he did a similar measure passed last June. Then Congress was eager to leave Washington for the summer and temporarily abandoned the fight by passing a new bill to continue CCC without disturbing its power to subsidize food producers.

This time, however, two other alternatives are possible. Congress may try to pass the anti-subsidy bill over the presidential veto, or it may work out a compromise on the subsidy issue in a new bill. Before the Bankhead bill was passed, several compromise measures were rejected.

## Victory in the Ukraine

On three major fronts, the Red Army is forcing the Germans into new



TO THE BATTLEFRONTS. A trainload of German Mark III tanks moving toward the Adriatic front facing the British Eighth Army

retreats. In the north, Soviet troops are hard upon the Baltic states. In the center, they are driving deep into pre-1939 Poland. And in the Ukraine, they are winning still more spectacular victories.

Here, in the bend of the Dnieper River near Korsun, armies led by General Vatutin and General Koneff recently closed in on 10 German divisions, completely cutting them off from help. Great quantities of equipment have been captured, and part of the doomed force—estimated at 100,000 men—has already been destroyed. For the Germans, this is the most serious disaster since Stalingrad.

In the Ukraine, too, stands Nikopol, through the recapture of which the Russians have deprived the Germans of a badly needed war material. When the Nazis invaded Russia, one of the things they hoped to get was manganese, which is necessary to harden and toughen steel. Germany has none, and Russia has two-thirds of the world's supply. While a good part of this is located in Georgia, Nikopol alone produces a million tons a year—enough to process 80 million tons of steel. In the last year, German war industry got 300,000 tons of manganese from Nikopol. Now it must look to the second-rate mines in the Balkans for its supply.

As we go to press, a second disaster of this kind threatens the Germans. The city of Krivoi Rog, prized for its rich supply of iron ore, is being hard pressed by General Malinovsky's Third Ukrainian Army. As with Nikopol,

the Nazis are putting up a fierce struggle because of the urgency of their economic need.

## Arabian Oil

Strong protest is being heard in Washington against a reported plan between the government and private American oil companies for exploiting oil fields in the Middle East. According to the reports, the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, a federal government agency, will build a 1,250-mile pipeline, running from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean and costing well over \$150,000,000. This pipeline will tap the huge oil reserves in Arabia and Kuwait, probably the richest oil fields in the world.

The terms of the plan provide that three large American oil concerns will be permitted full use of the line, in return for certain concessions. These concessions include a discount on the price of a billion barrels of oil to be sold to the government, and agreements not to sell oil products to any other government or nationals of any other government if such sales would conflict with United States foreign policy.

The companies will undertake to pay the government for the pipeline over a period of years through the discount on sales of oil to the government. Until the cost is fully returned, however, the government will retain full title, although the profits from use of the line will go to the private companies.

Those who object to this agreement maintain that it will take from 25 to 50 years for the companies to pay for the pipeline. During that time the government and people of the United States would be obliged to defend the line with American troops, if necessary, in order to protect the profits of the private oil concerns. It is further argued that the agreement will encourage formation of great international monopolies, or cartels, in oil. And some oilmen object to the government getting mixed up in any way with their business.

Supporters of the plan argue, on the other hand, that in the event of another war we shall need large oil supplies, and that it is important to get hold of the world's remaining oil reserves. We have used our own sup-

plies so lavishly that we can already see the day when they may be exhausted. Therefore, it is contended, the government is protecting its own best interests by aiding and protecting the private oil companies in opening up these valuable foreign reserves.

## Endorsement for De Gaulle

By the time this paper reaches its readers, the French Committee of National Liberation, headed by General de Gaulle, may be the recognized provisional authority for all of France. There are indications that the American and British governments, which already accord the Committee full authority over the French Empire, may extend its jurisdiction to metropolitan France as well.

This will mean that when Allied armies enter the French homeland, no military government like the one set up in Italy will go with them. Instead, representatives of the Committee of National Liberation will be on hand to work with the military leaders in distributing food and relief supplies, restoring civil administration, and running the economy.

It is also expected that from now on, the Committee will have a larger voice in United Nations councils, whenever decisions are to be made on questions affecting western Europe. The understanding is, however, that as soon as possible the Committee will be replaced by a government chosen by the French people in a national election.

## OWI Settlement

A dispute between two top officials of the OWI recently highlighted some of the tangles in our war information program. Three executives of the Overseas Branch of the agency—the one which formulates and directs our propaganda to foreign countries—re-

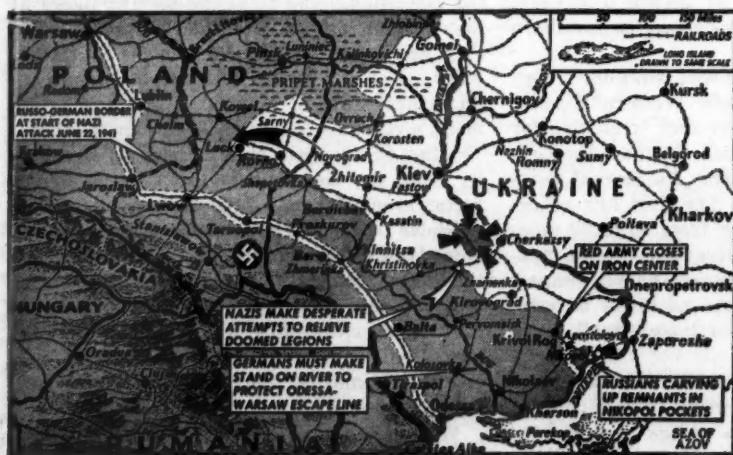


Elmer Davis

fused to follow policy lines laid down for their work by OWI chief Elmer Davis. Davis asked Robert E. Sherwood, director of the branch, to dismiss them and Sherwood refused.

The dispute finally ended in the dismissal of the three men and victory for Elmer Davis. But before Davis' authority could be fully asserted, arbitration by the President was necessary. To many people, this turn of events reemphasized the lack of clearly defined powers and functions which has confused OWI operations.

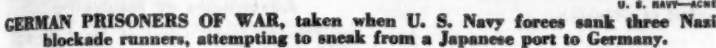
To many, it also pointed to another flaw in the way OWI is set up. At present, our foreign propaganda work and our domestic news services are combined in a single organization. It



The southern Russian front

COURTESY PH





**There'll come a time**

**Senior Editor**  
Paul D. Miller

**Associate Editors**

J. Hubert Anderson      Wilbur F. Murra  
Anne Crutcher      Kenneth F. Weaver

**Art Editor**  
Kermit Johnson





Since the beginning of the war, Spain has been largely under the control of Germany

## Changes Made in Spanish Policy

(Concluded from page 1)

Allies charge that Spaniards are still fighting in Russia, wearing German uniforms and called the Spanish Legion of the German army. How many Spaniards are still fighting in Russia is unknown, but the number is estimated at 1,500.

Another source of complaint of the British and Americans is the Nazi activities which Spain has permitted from her own territory. As recently as last month, a new flood of German "tourists" were reported to have entered Spain. Nazi agents, operating in Spain, have not only engaged in propaganda against the Allies. They are said to have provided information to Nazi military leaders which has resulted in the loss of Allied ships and lives.

It has been charged that Spanish territory has been used as bases for Nazi submarines to attack Allied shipping and for refueling purposes. There have been several instances where Allied cargoes, going from Spanish to British ports, have been sabotaged. Bombs have been planted in cargoes of oranges destined for British ports, it has been charged.

More than that, Spain has been supplying Hitler with many materials necessary for war. As recently as last month, Franco is reported to have extended a credit of \$40,000,000 to Hitler for the purchase of materials in Spain and for other purposes, such as the carrying on of propaganda and sabotage and espionage against the United Nations.

### Effect on Latin America

There is a further reason why the United States is particularly interested in Spain's position in the war. Through the bonds of language and tradition, Spain maintains extremely close relations with the nations of Latin America. There have been numerous instances where the Falange, the only legal political party in Spain, has sponsored anti-United States activities in South America. It has been charged that the Nazis in Spain have frequently used fascist elements in that country to further their objectives in the South American republics.

The United States is concerned with developments in

Spain for another reason. There have been numerous reports recently to the effect that the Nazis have worked out detailed plans to use Spain for future activities even if they should lose the war. Some observers expect the Nazis to try to use Spain as a new base from which to rebuild their power after military defeat on the continent. They are said to be laying plans for a new Axis which will have its headquarters in Madrid and which will extend its influence to Argentina and other South American countries. These reports are made more plausible by the great influence which the Nazis and the Spanish fascists already exert in Latin America. The United States, therefore, has a real interest in preventing the ties between Spain and Germany from becoming too close now and in the future.

The reason we are now taking a firmer stand against the Franco government is our growing military strength. During the early period of the war, our principal purpose in dealing with the Spanish government was to prevent it from joining the Axis in the struggle. At that time, we were everywhere on the defensive. Spain stood astride the straits of Gibraltar, western gateway to the Mediterranean, and thus occupied one of the most strategically important positions on the European continent.



Spanish children saluting the picture of General Franco

If Spain had granted Germany permission to occupy the country, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for our invasion fleets to pass through Gibraltar for the landings in North Africa in November, 1942. At that time Allied control of the Mediterranean was anything but secure and the war had reached its most critical stage. At that time, we were anxious to avoid weakening our position further by forcing Spain into the war. That is why we made concessions to the Franco government in the form of oil, grain, cotton, foodstuffs, and other materials.

There is another reason why we were anxious to keep Spain as neutral as we could. By maintaining as friendly relations as possible with Franco, we and the British were able to buy large supplies of such critical war materials as wolfram and tungsten, used in the manufacture of tools and steel, thus preventing these vital materials from falling into the hands of the Germans.

### Controversial Issue

During this entire period, the Franco government clung to its position of semi-neutrality or nonbelligerency without becoming involved in the war. The government never veered so far from neutrality as to become actually an armed ally of Germany, despite its many acts of assistance to the Axis.

The wisdom of this policy toward Spain will long remain one of the most highly controversial issues relating to our foreign policy during the present war. It has been widely criticized as a policy of appeasement, of yielding to demands and threats, and of thus having weakened our entire position as a foe of fascism.

The State Department justifies this policy on the ground of military necessity, pointing out that, whatever else may be said for it, it did succeed in keeping Spain out of the war and thus endangering our entire position on the continent of Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in North Africa.

Whatever merits there may be to the arguments about our past policy toward Spain, the present facts point to a continuation of the new policy. As our military position in the Mediterranean and Africa has become more secure, as the Axis strength declines on all fronts, we are taking a strong stand against Spain and are going to insist that she follow a course of true neutrality. In all probability, Spain's

refusal to adhere to our demands will result in further economic measures against her. We shall undoubtedly stop the shipment of grain, meat, coal, cotton, and other products to Spain unless she stops aiding Germany as she has done in the past.

These measures are likely to produce important results in Spain because she is dependent upon foreign sources for these materials. The stoppage of oil shipments has already been felt in Spain and has resulted in drastic measures to curtail the use of oil and gasoline for everything except the most vital needs. Bled white by three years of civil war, between 1936 and 1939, Spain is impoverished and unable to get along without considerable supplies of foodstuffs and other materials from the outside. Germany is hardly in a position to supply these materials.

### Advantages of Neutrality

For the time being at least, it appears that the objective of the United States and Great Britain is to force Spain into a more neutral position and not to try to draw her into the war on our side. Genuine Spanish neutrality would greatly help our cause by depriving the Nazis of the valuable help they have been receiving from Spain. It would make our position throughout the Mediterranean area more safe and secure, and would remove one of the dangers to our position throughout Latin America. That is why we are not likely to take stronger measures if Spain toes the line.

There is hope that our change in policy will produce the desired results



The Spanish Peninsula

in Spain. As Harold Denny, writing in the New York Times, expresses it:

"The United States and Britain until recently were reasonably gratified at the progress made in our direction by Spain. That progress was made when our paths were surrounded with risks and we had to proceed cautiously. But London and Washington feel that the day of big risks is over. They are no longer satisfied with a negative position in Spain. They want more positive action and they are taking bold steps to get it. They have knowingly accepted the risk that they might drive Spain back into Germany's arms. But those arms are losing their strength and they think Franco knows his future lies in good relations with us."

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# Challenge of Postwar Era

(Concluded from page 1)

Mechanical and scientific progress will continue. A war fought a few years hence will be horrible beyond imagination, and we in America will see it in our own cities and our own homes. Failure to win the peace, therefore, will not merely be a mistake in policy, similar to the writing of an unwise tariff act. It will be a stark calamity. Literally it will be a death warrant for thousands of you, the students of America, who today are calmly reading this page.

This sounds like an alarmist note, perhaps. It may savor of melodrama. But every thoughtful person knows that it is sober and inescapable truth.



CARNACK IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
He's hardly started

It is not possible to exaggerate the importance of winning the peace.

Many people who recognize the truth of such a statement are not really aroused by it. They do not see any urgent need for them to bestir themselves, for they assume that, somehow, the problem will be solved. There is widespread optimism in America about winning the peace. There is a great deal of talk about the "brave new world" that is to emerge from the war; about the machinery of international peace and cooperation that will be established; about the coming period of international justice and good will which will be ushered in.

## Pessimists' View

Such is the vision of the optimists—a vision by which they are lulled into comfortable inactivity. There are pessimists who have a different vision. They assume cynically that the fight for permanent peace is already lost, that international cooperation is at this time an unattainable ideal, that wars will inevitably come in the future, and that we in America can do no better than to be constantly and vigilantly prepared for them.

The facts do not justify either the complacency of the optimists or the defeatism of the pessimists and cynics. It is a fact that there is danger of losing the peace. As things stand today, that outcome seems probable. But there is still a chance to reverse the trend and win. There is a chance that our own country, by using its tremendous influence wisely, can insure a program of peace and order among nations.

Certainly permanent peace will not be achieved easily. We will not drift automatically and without effort into an era of order and good will. The obstacles in the way of world security are very great indeed. Leland Stowe, veteran foreign correspondent, tells of some of them in his new book, *They Shall Not Sleep*.

In this book Mr. Stowe writes of present-day China; tells of the conflicts of factions in that war-torn land where fascist, communist, and democratic elements strive for the mastery, where ignorance, disorganization, hatreds and cruelty are to be overcome by those who are trying to modernize and democratize the nation, where harmony among the United Nations has at times given place to suspicions, distrust, and noncooperation.

Mr. Stowe's observations have not been confined to China. He has visited all the embattled nations and has studied conditions which are to be found all over the world. It is significant that he is discouraged about the prospects for permanent peace; that he thinks there is real danger that the United Nations, having won the war, may lose the peace.

It is also significant that many foreign correspondents and analysts of world developments agree with this view. In its last issue, *Life* turns a realistic eye upon trends in the Western Hemisphere, a region to which many Americans, troubled by European prospects, look with hope. In reviewing our relations with Argentina, the *Life* editors express the view that, unless our relations with all the South American countries are handled with unaccustomed understanding and skill, our influence on that continent may be dangerously impaired. There is real danger that fascist and anti-United States factions may prevail throughout much of Latin America.

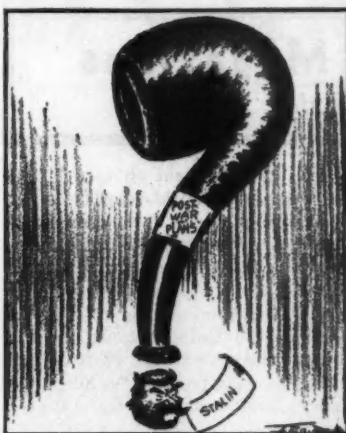
## Spirit of Revolt

The observer who travels today through Asia will find that continent, peopled by half the human race, seething with a spirit of revolt from the past, yet without clearly accepted goals for the future. He will find those populous regions broken into warring or discordant elements, agreed upon little except that white supremacy is to end and that vast changes must come in the future.

The winds of discontent and of revolution are sweeping also across the unhappy lands of Central Europe, where millions have been uprooted from their homes, where governments have been driven from power, and where there is no order except that which has temporarily been imposed by a despotic conqueror. Powerful social forces are on the move in most of the countries of the world.

Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin, head of the department of sociology in Harvard University, has pointed out that times of great social changes are ordinarily periods of war, while peace is more assured at times when no profound or sudden changes are being made in governments, customs, or property rights.

If this is true, and the experience of the past suggests that it is, what good reason is there for the complacent expectation that the world is about to enter a period of peace and orderly development? It would seem more probable that we are at the threshold of a revolutionary era, during which violence and



TALBUT IN WASHINGTON NEWS  
The sixty-four dollar question

war on a grand scale may be expected.

But while the world does not seem to be ready for a swing toward good will, orderly development, and peace, there is a chance that it may be guided in that direction. Three great nations, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, will emerge from the war so powerful that, if they act wisely, they may enforce peace without seriously interfering with the liberties of other peoples.

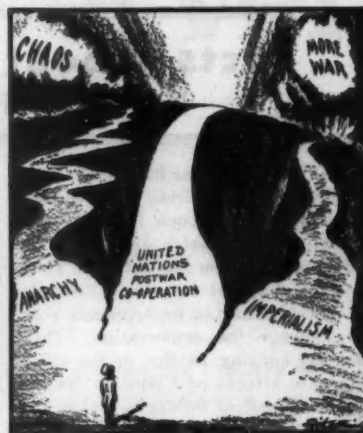
## No Puppets of Fate

It will not be easy for these three nations to agree on policy, for suspicions and conflicting purposes tend to hold them apart. Relations among them have grown more strained instead of more harmonious since the Moscow and Teheran conferences. Yet it should not be beyond the powers of statesmanship to hold them together. There is a fighting chance that this may be done.

Another favorable circumstance is the fact that while the problems of the world are more acute and dangerous than they have often been in history, the forces making for reason and peace are also stronger. We, the plain people of the world, are not so helpless as people once were. We know pretty well what is happening. When there are dangers ahead, we see them and study them. Or we can do so if we wish.

Sources of information are open to us. We listen each day to voices which come to us from across the earth. We can communicate our ideas freely. We are accustomed to organization on a vast scale, to common action on common problems.

We are no longer mere puppets of fate, swept along, as peoples of other ages were, by forces quite beyond our control. If we want policies which will make for world peace, we can have



FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS BRAY NEWS  
Only one bright trail, Uncle

them. But to exercise control in this way we must have knowledge, understanding. We must work at the job of winning the peace as hard as the soldiers in the field and the men and women in the factories are working to win the war.

Thus far, we have not done this. An army of citizens, skilled in an understanding of the problems of peace and war, is not being trained. We are, says the author, James Hilton, as unprepared for winning the peace as the nation was unprepared for war in 1937-1938. That is why the hope of establishing a lasting peace seems so dim—not that it is an impossible problem, but simply that so few are working at it.

This is, to a very great extent, a job for students. The soldiers are busy at other things. So are the workers in field and factory. Students have time to tackle the most challenging and heroic job of the ages.

But exactly what can they do? We know quite definitely how a soldier prepares for his part in war. How can a young man or woman, not now eligible for a soldier's work, prepare for the equally necessary and patriotic task of finishing the job which the soldiers are doing? That is a question which we shall undertake to answer in these columns next week.

## News Quiz

(For references on issues of the peace, see page 2, column 4)

1. What are some of the requirements essential to winning the peace?
2. Why are conditions in present-day China, as described by Leland Stowe, characteristic of conditions in most of the countries of Europe?
3. Why are great social upheavals more likely to take place in time of war than in time of peace?
4. What are some of the hopeful signs that a lasting peace may be established after this war?
5. Contrast the opinion of the extreme optimists relative to the peace with that of the extreme pessimists.
6. What action have the American and British governments taken recently which indicate a firmer policy toward the government of Francisco?
7. What is the Blue Division and how has it figured in our dispute with General Franco?
8. What justification does our State Department make for the policy of dealing cautiously with the Spanish government in the past?
9. How do our relations with Spain figure into our dealings with Latin America?
10. What plans for Spain after the war are the Nazis said to have?
11. What is the general editorial policy of the magazine *Free World*?
12. What criticism has been made against the government's plan to build an oil pipeline in the Middle East?
13. Why was the loss of Nikopol a serious blow to the Nazis, from an economic standpoint?
14. What indications are there that Czechoslovakia will have more friendly relations with Russia after the war than she had before?



LITTLE IN NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN  
Another chance



## Facts About Magazines

### Free World

LONG before the war had assumed its present world-wide proportions, there were many people in the United States who felt that a great struggle for human freedom was at hand. They saw the stage set for such a struggle as new totalitarian governments rose to challenge the democracies. They saw its opening battles in the early Japanese attacks on China, in Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, and in the conquest of Austria.

Many wished to take an active part in the fight against totalitarian oppression. Some enlisted in the armies opposing the Axis. Others raised relief funds. Still others felt that the best way to serve their cause was by explaining and publicizing its ideals.

It was a group of people with the last-named point of view who formed

The editorial went on to tell more of what *Free World* stands for. It stands for pursuing the war until the totalitarian powers are completely destroyed, against compromising with those who have aided the Axis, and for full cooperation among four major nations—the United States, Britain, Russia, and China. Its postwar program is simply freedom for all peoples under a world-wide system of collective security.

*Free World* is still championing these ideas and evaluating the news in terms of a great struggle to realize them. Each month it presents more than a dozen articles on various political and economic aspects of the war—each written by an eminent authority on his subject. A series of short editorials, similar to those found in *The Nation* and *The New Republic* further highlights the opinion of the editors on recent happenings.

*Free World* also sets forth its point of view through poetry, and a number of fine cartoons and drawings. Such well-known contributors as the Mexican Miguel Covarrubias and the Polish Arthur Szyk make its illustrations as artistically memorable as they are politically pointed.

The editors of *Free World* have an especially deep interest in the people of the conquered countries of Europe. For some time now, they have been sending short-wave broadcasts to Europe in order to keep the people informed and encouraged. In addition, they regularly feature news of the underground organizations which are fighting Hitler from within. One of the things the Free World Association is fighting hardest for is to have greater aid sent to these people and to give their representatives a greater voice in the formation of Allied policy.

Although *Free World* is so largely concerned with foreign affairs, it does not neglect the liberal causes on the American home front. It has come out against what it feels are fascist influences in the United States, against abuses by big business, and against racial discrimination against Negroes and Jews, feeling that these are evils which must be banished if the free world is ever to become a reality.

Because of these things and because it has often supported revolutionary groups which were fighting the Axis, *Free World* is grouped among the more radical publications. In general, however, its editors and contributors advocate economic security and civil liberties within a framework of democracy and private enterprise economy.

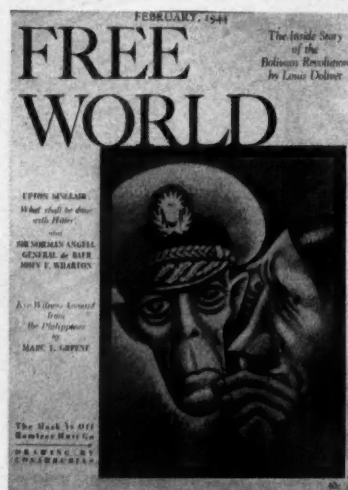


*Free World*, Incorporated, in the autumn of 1941. Their leaders included Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, J. Alvarez del Vayo, minister of foreign affairs under the Spanish Republic; Clark M. Eichelberger, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and Wousaofong, former member of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.

In addition, the new organization was sponsored by famous liberals of all nationalities. Such names as those of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, first lady of China; Eduard Benes, president of Czechoslovakia, and General Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico, appeared on its International Honorary Board.

In October, 1941, they launched the first issue of the magazine *Free World*. It announced that, "Dedicated to the defeat of the Axis Powers and to constructive international cooperation, the International Free World Association is working as a clearing house for the representatives of the democratic forces throughout the world. It stands for a world order based upon Freedom, Democracy, and Justice—with international guarantees of the fundamental rights, civil liberties, economic security, and welfare of humanity."

Its editors further explained themselves in an editorial. "The publication of *Free World*," they said, "does not represent merely the launching of another magazine. . . . More than an editorial event, its appearance is a political act. It springs out of the conviction of the democratic forces gathered around *Free World* that the time is ripe for common action to win the war and to win the peace."



Raymond Gram Swing

## Radio's Ace Commentator

RAYMOND Gram Swing is not only top man among radio commentators in this country; he also commands a global listening public. His quarter-hour of news analysis, broadcast from Washington at 10 every Monday through Thursday evening, is heard by about 15 million Americans. Immediately after the program, recordings are short-waved to all parts of the world. Translated into different languages, Swing's message is sent out over the air again to more than 20 million foreign listeners.

Like most other radio newsmen, Raymond Gram Swing came to the microphone after a long career behind a typewriter. For the first 20 years of his adult life he was in the newspaper business—a reporter, editor, and foreign correspondent.

Leaving college after a disagreement with the faculty, Swing got his first reporting job at the age of 19. Four years later, he was managing editor of an Indianapolis newspaper. Just before the First World War broke out, he was sent to Berlin as correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*.

When the United States entered the war, Swing came home to take a post with the War Labor Board. As soon as the war ended, he returned to Berlin, this time as a *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent. In 1925, he became chief of the London bureau of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

This appointment began a very happy period in Swing's life. In the nine years that followed, his work for the *Ledger* and the *New York Evening Post* earned him recognition as one of America's outstanding foreign correspondents. But in 1934, the *Ledger*, which had been his major interest, suddenly liquidated its entire foreign staff. At the age of 47, Swing had to start all over.

Returning home again, he turned toward the radio field, which had long interested him. But the stylized type of delivery radio speakers of the time affected did not appeal to him. And when he tried his own kind of radio speaking, he found that he could not make a living at it.

For a brief period, Swing worked as a free-lance writer and contributing editor for *The Nation*. Still, he did not lose interest in radio. On a friend's advice, he began to study his own voice. He practiced whispering to improve his enunciation. He made phonograph records in order to analyze

his inflections. After a few months of developing his voice in this manner, he went to work for the Mutual Broadcasting System as a news analyst.

Since that time, he has continued his newscasting for a variety of sponsors. None, however, has been able to regulate what he says.

Few men can rival Swing's reputation for honesty, sincerity, and hard work. A man who takes his principles seriously, he has often turned down important opportunities for the sake of an idea. When he was in Berlin in 1922, his paper assigned him to cover the Genoa conference, where recognition of the Soviet regime in Russia was to be discussed. Most correspondents would have jumped at the chance, but Swing refused because he was scheduled to work with a White Russian sympathizer. He asserted that it was not right to assign an enemy of the Soviet government to report news about it.

In the 1930's Swing was deeply concerned about the rise of fascist government in Europe. In 1935, he wrote a book called *Forerunners of American Fascism*, warning the American public of the possibility that a totalitarian system might take root in this country.

Later on, he became the first radio commentator to join William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He felt so strongly about the need of American aid in the struggle against fascism that he considered giving up his radio work and stumping the country for intervention in the war. When America did go to war, Swing offered his services to the State Department as a dollar-a-year man. But the Department refused his offer, saying that his broadcasts contributed more to the war effort than anything else he could do.

Considering his work a mission as well as a way of earning a living, Raymond Gram Swing gives it every bit of energy he possesses. He devotes more than 10 hours a day to the preparation of a single 15-minute broadcast. He reads eight newspapers from cover to cover, in addition to magazines, current books, and press releases. He gets additional information by going directly to the source.

From this vast body of material, Swing picks out the facts of highest significance and develops his message for the day. Then, having rehearsed and timed his script, he steps before the microphone.



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